The History of the Kāli Cult and its Implications in Modern Sri Lankan Buddhist Culture

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ABSTRACT: Historically speaking, belief in gods and demons has been practiced all over the world, beginning even before organized religions came into being. Over the last few decades, the influence of the Kāli cult has spread rapidly in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture. This research paper reveals how and why the Kāli cult is popular today, with reference to its history. The investigation of its historical aspects is based on literature, while a discussion of the cult's present practice is informed by examination of its methods of participation, as well as observations and open discussions. Data collection involved a literature review and qualitative interviews with the cult's charmers and devotees. Some of the data indicates that the cult is based on an incarnation of Śiva's wife named Kāli; other records suggest, however, that the cult originated in ancient India before the Aryan invasion. Recently, there has been some loss of spirituality among Buddhist adherents and it can be suggested, therefore, that the Kāli cult offers them direction in their worldly lives. Although the elements of cruelty present in the Kāli doctrine clash with Buddhist tradition, it seems that these adherents are willing to follow anything that enables self-benefit. To overcome this contradiction between Buddhism and the Kāli cult, the figure of Kāli has been transformed from a demoness into goddess.

KEYWORDS: Kāli cult, Sri Lankan Buddhism, yantra, mantra, añjanam, social anthropology

Introduction

Throughout Indian and Sri Lankan history, the rituals and beliefs within Buddhism have mingled together with those of Hinduism—more so than

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with the two religions of Islam and Christianity. Indeed, the origins of the Kāli cult are linked with Indian Hinduism and traditional Indian folk religions. The aim of this research paper, however, is not to investigate the link between Buddhism and Hinduism but to examine the role of the Kāli cult in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture. The key questions are: 1) why is this cult more popular than other cults in Sri Lanka, and 2) why are more Sri Lankan Buddhist devotees being drawn to this cult at present than in the past? Even though the Kāli cult is a new movement operating within Sri Lankan Buddhism, in Hindu and Buddhist practice, there has been no room for its development as an actual new religion. In these two traditions—and particularly in Hinduism, which originated in and has spread throughout the Indian sub-continent—new religious movement stand to come to be considered religions in their own right very quickly. The connections between the two are shown in that the Buddha has been figured as the last incarnation of the god Viṣṇu in Hinduism, while the Hindu god Indra is seen as equivalent to the god Śakra (or Sakka in Pali) in Buddhism. Where the Kāli cult is concerned, although its popularity has been growing among Buddhists, it has not been treated in the same way as some other Hindu myths, which have been integrated deeply into Sri Lankan Buddhist culture. On this point, Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere's text *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (1990) provides useful information, while Bruce Kapferer's *A Celebration of Demons Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka* (1983) offers key insights into belief in demons in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture.

Historical Approaches and Legends

The Skandhakumāra and Viṣṇu cults are well established in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture, but the influence of the Kāli cult differs somewhat. Shrines for the gods Skandhakumāra and Viṣṇu can be found within the sacred areas of most modern Buddhist temples. Indeed, their popularity in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture is seen in that it is very rare to find a Buddhist temple without these shrines. Even at the Temple of the Tooth Relic, shrines are allocated to these gods. Kirivehera, located in the south and said to be one of the places visited by the Buddha, is the most famous shrine to Skandhakumāra. It is visited by both Hindu and Buddhist devotees, being popular with Buddhists despite the history of the place being associated more with Hinduism. Hinduism has also been able to influence Buddhism due to the mixing between the two main peoples of Sri Lanka: the Sinhalese and the Tamils. This mixing has led aspects such as the Pattini and Kataragama cults to gain a place in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture (Gombrich 2008: 57). This brief explanation demonstrates how Buddhism has been influenced by Hindu myths throughout history.

There are various legends regarding the origins of the terms Kāli (which can be translated as "black" or "black colored") and Kālikā ("the black one"). For example, Kāli has been interpreted as the feminine form of Kāla, an epithet for Śiva. Furthermore, according to some believers, Kāli is one of the major forms of the divine mother goddess (the other forms being Lakṣmi, Durgā, and Saraswati). Kāli is often depicted, however, as having a lolling tongue and other fantastical attributes that are not found in the traditional image of Durgā (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1990: 133). We have to remember that sometimes these terms are not utilized to introduce a new form of mother goddess, but can be interchangeable; Durgā has been used as a synonym for Kāli. According to legend, Kāli appeared from the body of the sleeping Viṣṇu in *Yoga Nidrā*. She was asked to protect Brahma and the world from two demons named Madhu and Kaitabha. Although the god Viṣṇu attacked the demons, they were not defeated, and so Kāli enchanted them after taking the form of Mahāmāyā. Finally, the demons were killed by Viṣṇu. Once, Kāli attacked the Buffalo Demon (Mahīṣāsura), who is also called Blood Drop (Raktabīja) due to his ability to reproduce drops of blood that have fallen to the ground. Kāli drank the drops of blood before killing the demon. It was believed that another demon, Daruka, could be defeated by a female only. Siva asked Pārvatī to defeat him. Pārvatī merged with the body of Śiva and appeared as Kāli to defeat Daruka and his demon group. Despite these variances in the tale of Kāli, it is very clear that the Kāli cult has developed along with the history of both India and Sri Lanka.

The Pattini cult includes the most established concept of a goddess in Sri Lankan culture. Indeed, the history of the Pattini cult shows that it has a relationship with the Kāli cult. When Buddhism and Jainism went into decline from the eighth to thirteenth centuries, there were three consequences:

> First, Buddhists were pushed out of South India and settled on Sri Lanka's west coast. They brought with them the Pattini cult to suit the new culture. Second, in South India itself the original Pattini cult was absorbed into the popular Hindu cults of Kāli, Durgā or Bhagavati. Third, another group of Kerala immigrants settled on the east coast of Sri Lanka and were hinduized. Their version of the goddess is that of a Hindu deity, but, unlike the situation in South India, the goddess is kept separate from the Kāli cult and retains much of the quality of a folk deity, as in Sinhala areas. (Obeyesekere 1984: 509)

The history of Sri Lanka shows that there was no goddess called Kāli in the traditional Sinhala Buddhist pantheon, although Kāli did exist. She was considered a demon, however, and there were no public shrines to her until very recently (Obeyesekere 1984: 427). The main reasons for this are that Kāli and her iconography represent blackness (or dark blue), intolerance, evil, and danger—factors that did not mix easily with Buddhist beliefs. Scholars have interpreted

her incorporation into Buddhism as a story of moral progress linked with the story of the Dhammapada verse called "Hatred is never appeased by hatred" (*na hi verena verāni*) (Gombrich 1996: 135).

Current Practice

The Munneśwaram temple complex located in the Puttalam district in the North Western province is one of the five Īśvara temples in Sri Lanka today. It was located in Puttalampattuva, which was a part of Demala Patthuva in medieval Sri Lanka. This Hindu temple complex, centered on the god Śiva, was established during the era of the medieval Kotte kingdom and included extensive property in the surrounding villages. Even though the temple was destroyed twice by Portuguese colonial officers, it was rebuilt by locals both times. In the temple complex, there are five temples, which are named for Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Ayyanāyaka, Kāli, and the Buddha. The Śiva temple is the most prestigious, the biggest, and the oldest, while the Ganeṣa temple is the newest. Importantly, the complex is also frequented by Buddhists:

> The Kāli temple is also popular with Buddhists, who frequent the complex. In the post19th century, most of the devotees of all temples in the complex belonged to the majority Sinhala Buddhist ethnic group; the temples, excluding the Ayyanāyaka and the Buddhist temples, are administered by families belonging to the minority Hindu Tamils. (*Wikipedia* 2017)

In fact, Munnēśvaram is the first Hindu temple to have become popular among Sri Lankan Buddhists, and the Kāli temple remains perhaps the most significant Kāli palace in Sri Lanka today.

A Sri Lankan Buddhist myth suggests that Kāli came from South India and landed at Chilaw near Munnēśvaram, settling there. As Kāli devoured human beings, Pattini, one of the Sinhalese goddesses, prevented her from killing. Kāli thus became Pattini's maid. Her duties, as outlined in the ritual called Killing and Resurrection (*Marāipæddīma*) in the myths of the Pattini circle, are exactly the same as those of any servant in a Sinhala household. (Obeyesekere 1984: 260)

In Mōdara, one of the most famous Kāli temples among Sri Lankan Buddhists contains an image of Kāli with sixteen arms, who is named Sohon-kāli. Her hair is disheveled, her eyes are red with intoxication, and (in some of the images) two fangs protrude from her mouth. Her tongue lolls out of her mouth and she is dressed in human arms, as well as wearing a garland of human heads. In her many hands, she holds a sword, a trident, a severed head, the blood from the severed head, and fire (said to increase her power). Interestingly, although the names of the other gods' shrines (like Viṣṇu and Īśvara, for instance) are written in Tamil, Sohon-kāli's name is written in the Sinhala language. Indeed, across her depictions in Sri Lanka, she is portrayed variously, with four hands or ten hands, and

eight arms or sixteen arms. Many of the devotees who attend ritualistic activities in Sri Lanka are Buddhists who also believe that the special power of Kāli can protect them from various disturbances and help with their material development. Clergymen are seen here as a medium between the goddess and the devotees.

There are many shrines, big and small, dedicated to the reverence of goddess Kāli—they can be found all over the island. The main shrine dedicated to goddess Pattini in Kaduwela, located in the Western Province, includes a shrine to Kāli. Furthermore, Kataragama, located in the south and dedicated to Skandhakumāra (*Kataragamadeviyo* in Sinhala), has a shrine dedicated to her. Individual Kāli shrines can be found across the island and, in some areas, the Kāli cult is merged with a belief in the spirits of ancestors. For Buddhists, such merging makes the Kāli cult more attractive because it provides a link with ancient Sri Lankan beliefs that were popularized among the Sinhalese before the spread of Buddhism.

Participant observations can provide us with some insights into the modern position of the Kāli cult in Sri Lankan Buddhism. Sirisena is a 60-year-old father of three, who lives with his family in Hakmana, Mathara. He is the main breadwinner of the family and has to work hard for a living. I met with him at the Mōdara Kāli temple and he told me the following:

> I usually come here as I am a businessman who believes in the power of Kāli. Every evening I show respect to Kāli by offering red flowers and an oil lamp. If I wish to begin anything new—for example, in the children's education or buying a new car—I like to come here to the Kāli kōvila at Mōdara and request Kāli's help. To this day, my requests have been successful. (In-depth interview)

Sri Lankans believe that there are seven modes of Kāli cult (*Kāli hat kaṭṭuva*), namely: i) Bhadra Kāli; ii) Mahā Bhadra Kāli; iii) Pēna Kāli; iv) Vanduru Kāli (Hanumā Patra Kāli); v) Rīri Kāli; vi) Sohon Kāli; and vii) Gini Kāli. They are female demon commanders-in-chief, who seek permission for actions from Kāliammā (the mother of Kāli), being her direct representatives. Aside from these seven commanders, there is a group of messengers named Ravo-kāli and a group of servants. Jīvapatra, Sarasvatipatra, Sirapatra, Surapatra, Asurapatra, Śrīpatra, Devapatra, Nāgapatra, Sarapatra, Ginipatra, Mahāpatra, Suragurupatra, and patrakāliamma—are some of her messengers. These names indicate that there is a relationship between the Kāli cult and the Tamil language because the term *patra-kāli* represents the Sanskrit or Sinhala *bhadra-kāli*. There are more than forty-seven servants, including Tripuralōka-kāli, Aghōra-kāli, Sarvalōka-kāli, brahma-kāli, Iṣṭha-kāli, Pesu-kāli, Mahāmantra-kāli, and Aṅgulimālamahā-kāli.

Matilda, who thoroughly believes that Sohon-kāli came from Navagamuwa, Kaduwela, is a 49-year-old lady with four daughters. I met her at the Mōdara Kāli temple while she was with her daughters and her 72-year-old mother.

> After my husband passed away, I faced many troubles with my kids. Then, I began to visit the Mōdara Kāli temple with my friends and to offer an oil lamp for the Kāli goddess every night at home, following the guidance given by the priest at the temple. This supported me to organize my family matters. Although I did not have much success with finances, my family didn't face problems in our society. As a devotee, every year I visit the Mōdara temple once or twice out of respect for the goddess Sohon-Kāli; this is the eighteenth year. (In-depth interview)

The preparation of a chalet for the offering of oil lamps to Kāli should follow the recommended guidance. One must measure eight feet from the end of the corner of the left wall to the front door, making this point the edge of the roof. From this point, one should measure another eight feet to the left to establish a chalet that faces the same direction as the main front door. The size of the chalet determines its quality: those sized 11, 15, or 17 inches in length and 11, 15, or 17 inches in width are considered the best, while 12, 13, or 14 inches in length and 12, 13, or 14 inches in width are the least revered. 16 inches in length and 16 inches in width is a moderately good result. The chalet curtain should be of red cloth. While making offerings to Kāli, devotees should utilize an oil lamp containing mustard oil. Red flowers and silver coins should also be offered.

To request anything related to sorcery from Kāli, it must be the waning half of the lunar month. Tuesday is the most suitable day to revere Kāli and the most suitable time is from 8.08 to 8.24 in the morning and evening. For a sorcery request, first, the devotee must revolve three times around Kāli palace with fruits, garland and a coconut before handing over all the materials to the chaplain. The chaplain offers the items to Kāli on behalf of the devotee by reciting his/her name and house of the horoscope, while the devotee pays homage. After that, the devotee goes to the place where a rock plate is present and smashes a coconut upon it. The way in which the coconut smashes will express the result of the request. Smashing coconuts is one of the foremost activities related to the Kāli cult. In addition, after lighting an oil lamp, the devotee should chant the verses below (called *stōtra* in Sanskrit):

> *Dhyātvā kāliṃ mahāmāyāṃ; trinetrāṃ bahurūpiṇīm*
> *caturbujāṃ lolajihvāṃ; pūrṇacandranibhānanām.*
> *nīlotpaladalaśyāmāṃ; śatṛsaṃghavidārinam*
> *naramuṇḍaṃ tathā khadga; kamalaṃ varadaṃ tathā.*
> *Bibrānaṃ raktavasanaṃ; ghoradaṃṣtrāsvarūpiṇīm*
> *arthāttabhāsaniratam; sarvadācadigambaram.* (In-depth interview)

These verses explore the nature of Kāli, including her great magic, three eyes, many forms, four arms, protruding tongue, face similar to full-moon, dark tusk like a blue lotus colour, splitting of groups of enemies, holding with the hair knot

of a human head and a sword, wearing a blood red costume, with a demonic face, fruitful words etc.

Kāli is utilized by Sri Lankan Buddhists insight (*diṣṭi*), magical light used for divining (*añjanama*), sacred utterances (*mantras*), and mystical diagrams (*yantras*). There are two elements to *diṣṭi* (derived from the Sanskrit term *dṛṣṭi*): since the demon Kāli is invisible, she can become manifest, first of all, in her sight of the world and, second, she can possess a human body. Some devotees say, however, that Kāli does not possess people, but the spirits of ancestors. As Kāli is a servant to Pattini, she has to look after the world on Pattini's behalf (the latter looks at the world just once a year). Thus, all offerings made for Pattini must be accepted by Kāli. Here, some mantras for possession are used, which, notably, involve some elements of Sanskrit (like *ōṃ ravivaram, ravipatra Kālivaram, ōṃ sanduvaram, sandupatra Kālivaram, ōṃ kujavaram*, and *kujapatravaram*). The style used for reciting the mantras is also a special one—it is a more mystical rhythm, when compared with the recitation of *parittas* by Buddhist monks or devotees. There are also seven charms (*dæhænhata*) associated with Kāli and possession.

Añjanama, magical light used for divining, which focuses on Kāli, is another activity performed by Sinhala Buddhists. It exists within all four parts of the psychiatry (*Būtavidyā*): the seeker (*sādhaka*), the guru (*siddha*), the goal (*sādhya*), and recourses (*sādhana*). Kāli *añjanama* seekers are devotees, charmers, or gurus playing the role of *siddha*. While the aim of the ritual is to represent the *sādhya*, the gateway for achieving that goal involves *sādhana*. For the Kāli *añjanama*, one must take equal portions of the root of clitoris creep, the root of the abrusprecatorius creep (*olinda* in Sinhala), the root of the *sassanda* plant, and camphorated white sandalwood, which should be fried in a pan. Then, the mixture should be ground with resin oil while one chants *ōṃ jīvaprāṇa-ajīvaprāṇa, bhūtaprāṇa, abhūtaprāṇa, jīvajīva ēsvāhah*. Next, the potion should besmeared on the outside of a saucer. Before the devotee starts uttering the appropriate incantation, abed of betel must be prepared, as follows: spread out a banana leaf and then add seven betel leaves (with the bottoms of the leaves being turned outward). Bring a coconut oil lamp mixed with mustard oil and a bunch of sour plantain. Keep exsora flowers surrounding the items. Finally, sprinkle rosewater on the bed, and light the oil lamp and incense as an offering.

When the bed of betel is ready, the devotee can begin the *añjanam* incantation. The devotee must sit on a mat looking in there commended direction at an exact time determined by astrological investigations (*nækata*). The mantra must be chanted 1008 times. The devotee must not stand up until the1008 repetitions are complete. After each one, the *añjanam* saucer should be sent by utilizing an incense burner, with the help of the supporter. After the 1008 repetitions, the saucer should be placed vertically behind the lit oil lamp, after which the same mantra is chanted three more times. The mantra is as follows:

ōṃ kayimettaullum hanumādevadiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ śiva-kadiranārāyane-hanumādiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ-śaravīrapatra-kāli-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ-srīlaṃkādevadiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah,ōṃ asurahanumāginidiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ gururāmahanumāsarvadiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ śaraginināārāyanediṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah,ōṃ śarakayyeruginiśaradiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ vibhīṣaṇa-giniginidhāraṇadiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ kadiranārāyane bhagavatākagemeridiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ vairagininārāyane giniśaradiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ nāgadiṣṭhinārāyane hanumāpatra-kāli varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ yōmpēsalāḍidiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ hanumāginidiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah, ōṃ siddha hanumāpātāladiṣṭi-varavaraesvāhah. (In-depth interview)

The last stage of this process is seeing the *añjanama*. The one who is going to see the *añjanama* should observe five precepts: s/he must be vegetarian, be born at an auspicious time in human history, not use animal poison, be able to concentrate for a set time, and dress in white. Then, the devotee will be able to see the *añjanama*, if his/her mind is trusting. It is by looking at the saucer standing behind the flame of the oil lamp that one can see what one is searching for. Significantly, the mantra utilized here to enchant exists in Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhala, and even Tamil.

In order to make a vow, the devotee must make an offering of red flowers, a silver coin, a freshly picked coconut, turmeric water, rosewater, camphor, and a tiny vessel (*goṭuva, goṭṭa* in Sinhala) of blood. Having offered these items, the devotee should state what s/he desires from Kāli. The request is made in Sinhala and involves appealing to Kāli's powers and bodily features. The text of the request can be translated as below:

> O majestic she-demon Kāli, who is surrounded by powerful she-demons, dressed up in a blue cloth, wearing cobra bangles, making fire from the eyes, bearing a fire shield, appear in a human body to look at this matter which I wish to accomplish.

In Sri Lankan Buddhism, there are many gods, some of which are taken from Hinduism, such as Viṣṇu and Skandhakumāra, and some of which are completely Buddhist, like Sumanasaman, who is the supreme god of Adam's peak, Samanalakanda, in Sinhala (where, according to legend, Buddha placed his footprint, in homage to his adherents). In general, however, blood offerings are not made to any of these gods. Regarding Kāli, however, offering blood is essential, so devotees offer a few drops of their own blood or blood from a chicken's crest. When the request is made to Kāli, it should be noted that she is addressed as a demon surrounded by many other female demons, not as a goddess.

Another interesting characteristic of the Kāli cult practiced among Sri Lankan Buddhists is the use of yantras. There are three sources for the yantras and mantras utilized in practical Theravada Buddhism in Sri Lanka. The first is selected verses

and prose passages from the Pali Cannon, the second is verses and prose passages from the later Buddhist chanting, *paritta*; the last involves non-Buddhist yantras and mantras used by Buddhist followers and charmers (Hewamanage 2017). The Sādhakayantra, which is the most popular among adherents, is considered to be a yantra with hypnotic powers. This yantras involves writing three letters on a triangular copper plate as follows: *sā* at the top, *dha* in the bottom-left corner, and *ka* in the bottom-right corner. Then, the appropriate mantra must be repeated 108 times, before the plate is adorned. The mantra is: *bisibillārahimānarahim ākunp ayark undi dālām ata hārī mukkumukaa libādan kubādan mohanmat lāilāi llallā mohemmad sulallāhi*. A particularly interesting aspect of this mantra is that the language involves elements of Arabic. The first and last parts reference activities performed by devotees of Islam. The beginning names "the pure Allah" (*bisbillāhirahmanirrahim*); the end declares that there is only one god and Muhammad is his messenger (*lāilāhaillallāh*, *mohammadrasullāh*). The beginning replicates the beginning of the Holy Quran and the end reflects a fundamental teaching in Islam. The middle section of the mantra, however, goes into another language, suggesting that Buddhists are not ready to follow or pray for Allah or Muhammad, even if such actions could improve their prosperity. The evidence implies, then, that even if Buddhism mixes easily with the polytheistic religion of Hinduism, foreign links with the monotheistic notion of Islam is more problematic.

There are many mantras in Sri Lankan Buddhism that can be utilized for worldly benefits, such as requesting gems or mining success, asking for gifts from the king, requesting health protection, seeking improvements to memory, and asking for protection from thieves or animals, etc. The mantra for healthy life, *ōṃ haṃsaṃ haṃsaṃ*, is said 20 times to a glass of water, while imagining the image of Kāli being seen through the glass of water. If the 20 repetitions are not completed in one go, the devotee must start again from the first. For the fulfillment of wishes, *ōṃ huṃ huṃ Kālikarālinihrauṃ kṣāṃ kṣīṃ kṣauṃ et* should be repeated to goats' meat and red flowers 108 times. If this is undertaken at a cemetery, all the devotee's wishes will be granted.

As Gombrich and Obeyesekere state, there were no Sinhala Kāli shrines before 1960. Gradually, these were established by Buddhists, and today, not just lay priests, but also some monks are Kāli followers. Some of these are Tamils who have come from India, like the priest Rahul at the Mōdara *kovila*. Very recently (in 2017), some of the *Lankādīpa* Sunday newspapers devoted significant space to explaining the development of the Kāli cult over several weeks. Kāli yantras, mantras, and *añjanam* are very popular among Buddhists, probably because the use of yantras and mantras is not unusual in Theravada Buddhism. Although these mantras exist in many languages and conceptual permutations, devotees respect them—often because of a lack of linguistic knowledge, meaning that

they do not notice errors in the various permutations, or because of their strong beliefs in mysticism.

Conclusion

Sri Lankan Theravada Buddhism, like other world religions, has been changed by the influence of contemporary religious trends. In early Buddhist discourses, the existence of gods and other living beings with lower or higher level lives both within and beyond this world was accepted. Despite these beliefs, human free will and human ability to help gods through meritorious deeds also remained as concepts. It seems that early Buddhist thought about gods involves moral values, whereas later on, the ethical aspect became less important. Now, it is held that gods can assist humans with worldly matters if certain ritualistic performances take place. At present, the Kāli cult is moving towards being the most popular cult among Sri Lankan Buddhists. At the same time, the idea of Kāli being a good goddess, rather than a demon, is also increasing through the influence of the Buddhist concept of the deity. On one hand, yantras, mantras, and invocations of prose passages related to Kāli indicate that she is not yet considered a true goddess; on the other hand, however, most of the devotees whom I met during my observations and field work perceived Kāli as such. My interviewees were most interested in the correlation between the Pattini cult, which is already well established in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture, and the Kāli cult. As Pattini is considered a goddess, it can be suggested that the Kāli cult represents a transition from demoness to goddess. Before this can be completed, however, the contradiction between the Buddhist concept of loving kindness and Kāli's demonic form must be overcome.

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